

A N
E S S A Y

On the ORIGINAL of
Funeral SERMONS, ORATIONS,
and ODES.

Occasioned by Two

Funeral Discourses,

Lately Published on the Death of *Dame*
MARY PAGE, Relict of Sir Gregory
Page, Bart.

The one by Mr. *HARRISON*, with an
Oration at her Interment; and an Ode sacred to
her Memory.

The other by Mr. *RICHARDSON*.

With some Observations on each of them.

In a LETTER to a Friend.

*Si quid novisti rectius istis,
Candidus imperli: si non, his utere mecum.*

Horat. Epist. Lib. 1. Ep. 6.

L O N D O N :

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AN
ESSAY

On the Original of

FUNERAL SERMONS, ORATIONS,
and ODES.

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FUNERAL DISCOURSES

ately Published on the Death of Dr.
MAYNARD, Rector of St. Dunstons,
A.D. 1704.

The one by Mr. HARRISON, with an
Oration at his Interment; and an Ode to his
Memory.

The other by Mr. RICHARDSON.

With some Observations on each of them.

In a LETTER to a FRIEND.

By JOHN HARRISON, Esq.
Clerk of the Chapel of St. Dunstons,
and Mr. RICHARDSON, Esq.
of the Inner Temple.

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A N
E S S A Y

On the Original of
Funeral SERMONS, ORATIONS, and
ODES, &c.

Dear Sir,

I HAVE for some time been of opinion, that the custom of preaching Funeral Sermons, and making Orations at the interment of the dead, took its rise from some such practice first in use among the Heathens: Two discourses of this kind having been lately published on the death of the Lady *Page*, both attended with some odd circumstances, which I am sensible you are no stranger to, they have occasioned some fresh thoughts on this subject, the result of which I now send you, together with some few observations on the said discourses, all which I humbly submit to your impartial judgment.

The *Egyptians*, the posterity of *Ham*, were the first cultivators of idolatrous worship, and superstition after the Flood; they were the first that gave ^a names to Deities, built temples, erected altars, and set up images for divine adoration. They were the first ^b who asserted the immortality of the soul, its transmigration into all kinds of animals in earth, air, and sea, and its return to the human body; which they supposed to be within the term of three thousand years: Hence proceeded their very great care in embalming of their dead bodies, and their being at such vast expences, as they were, in building proper repositories for 'em; for they were more solicitous about their graves than their houses: This gave birth to those wonders of the world, the *Pyramids*, which were built for the burial of their kings, with such vast charges, and almost incredible magnificence, the same whereof has since spread it self all the world over: It cannot therefore be foreign to my present design, to enquire after what manner these people performed their funeral Obsequies, which, I find, was as follows.

“ When the corps was to be buried, the
 “ nearest a-kin gave notice of the day for the
 “ funeral to the judges, the relations, and the
 “ friends of the deceased; and particularly
 “ gave out, that He, naming the name of the

^a Herodot. l. 2. c. 4. & 58. Lactant. de Orig. Error. l. 2. c. 14.

^b Herodot. l. 2. c. 123.

“ deceased, would then pass the lake. The
 “ day being come, more than forty of the
 “ judges seated themselves in the form of a
 “ semicircle by the side of the lake, where the
 “ boat, which is managed by a pilot, whom
 “ the *Egyptians* in their language call *Charon*,
 “ being first prepar’d for use, is drawn up in
 “ readiness. The Vessel being let into the lake,
 “ before the deceased’s coffin is put into it,
 “ every one has a liberty to bring in an accu-
 “ sation against him. If any one can prove
 “ he has lived a bad life, the judges pronounce
 “ the sentence, and the corps is forbid the usual
 “ sepulture; but if it appears, that the accuser
 “ is guilty of calumny, he’s liable to the se-
 “ verest punishment. When either there is no
 “ accuser, or a false one, the relations lay
 “ aside their mourning, and praise the deceased.
 “ They make no mention of his descent, as the
 “ *Grecians* do, because they reckon that all in
 “ *Egypt* are equally noble; but then they re-
 “ hearse his education and learning in child-
 “ hood, and his piety, justice, continency, and
 “ other virtues in his adult age; beseeching the
 “ Gods below to receive him into the society
 “ of the pious: while the multitude, in the
 “ mean time, applaud and proclaim the praises
 “ of the deceased, as one that is to spend an
 “ eternity with the godly in *Hades* *.

In this account it is easy to observe the first rudiments of Funeral Orations, and what was

* Diodor. Sicul. l. i. c. 5.

the subject of 'em, which were afterwards formed into a more polite and regular manner by other nations, who received this custom from the *Egyptians*. Nor can I omit remarking, that those funeral solemnities were attended, not only with Orations in praise of the deceased, but with prayers for him; which prayers, it seems, were made by one who personated the deceased: an entire form of one of 'em is preserved by *Porphyry*^a, and perhaps it may, in some measure, gratify your curiosity to recite it from him. “ When, says he, they, *b. e.* “ the *Egyptians*, embalm their deceased nobles, they privately take out the entrails, and “ lay them up in an ark or chest: moreover, among other things which they do in favour “ of the deceased, lifting up the ark or chest to “ the sun, they invoke him; one of the *Libitinarii* * making a prayer for the deceased, which *Euphantus* has translated “ out of the *Egyptian* language, and is as “ follows: O Lord, the Sun, and all the Gods “ who give life to men, receive me, and admit me into the society of the immortal “ ones, for as long as I lived in this world, I “ religiously worshipped the Gods whom my “ parents shewed me, and have always ho-

^a De Abſtinentia, l. 4. ſect. 10. * *These were a sort of men who provided every thing needful for burials, ſo called from the goddeſs Libitina, in whoſe temple all ſuch things were expoſed to ſale. Vid. Kennet's Antiq. Par. 2. B. 5. c. 10. p. 340.*

“noured

"noured those who begat my body : nor have
 "I killed any man, nor have I defrauded any
 "of what has been committed to my trust,
 "nor have I done any thing which is inexpi-
 "able. Indeed, whilst I was alive, if I have
 "sinned either by eating or drinking any thing
 "which was not lawful ; not through my self
 "have I sinned, but through these, shewing
 "the ark and chest were the entrails were.
 "And having thus spoke, he casts it into the
 "river, but the rest of the body he embalms
 "as pure." I can't but conclude, that such like
 practices as these among the Heathens, have
 given rise to praying for departed saints among
 the *Papists*.

But to go on : The *Grecians* received the
 seeds of superstition and idolatrous worship^e
 from the *Egyptians*, thro' the coming of
Cecrops, *Cadmus*, *Danaus*, and *Erechtheus*,
 into *Greece*. The first of these was the first
 king of *Athens*, from whose coming thither,
 the *Attic Æra* begins ; where he first^f intro-
 duced the worship of *Jupiter* and *Minerva*,
 setting up an altar for the one, and the image of
 the other ; and among the rest of the *Egyptian*
 customs and laws which he brought along
 with him into *Greece*, the burial of the dead
 bodies in the earth was one. Of this *Cicero*
 particularly informs us in the following
 words : " They report, says he, that from

^e Herodot. 1. 2. c. 4. & 58.
 Evangel. 1. 10. c. 9.

^f Euseb. de prepar.

“ the times of *Cecrops*, it remained a custom at
 “ *Athens* to that day, to bury the bodies of
 “ their dead in the earth ”^s: which some say
 were laid with the head towards the *east*^h, and
 others towards the *west*ⁱ. But what *Cicero*
 says, as to their manner of interment, is this:
 “ That the relations, or neighbours of the de-
 “ ceased, laid the body in the ground, and ha-
 “ ving cast the earth over the corps, sowed the
 “ ground with all manner of grain or fruit;
 “ that so the earth might be as the bosom or
 “ lap of a mother to the deceased; and yet,
 “ being expiated by these fruits, might be re-
 “ stor’d, or rendered useful, to the living. Af-
 “ ter the interment, as he further tells us,
 “ followed the *epulae* or feasts, at which the
 “ company used to appear crown’d; when
 “ they spoke in praise of the dead, so far as
 “ they could go with truth, it being esteem’d
 “ a notorious wickedness to lie upon such an
 “ occasion^k.” A rule that very well deserves to
 be observed in making panegyricks or encomi-
 ums on the dead in Funeral Sermons and Ora-
 tions; in many of which, I fear, the bounds of
 truth are too often exceeded. And not only
 at those feasts, but even before the company
 departed from the sepulchre, they were some-
 times entertain’d with a panegyrick upon the
 dead person.

^s De legibus, l. 2. prope finem. ^h Diogen. Laert. in
 vit. Solon. ⁱ Ælian Var. Hist. l. 5. c. 14. & 7. 19.
^k Cicero, ibid. ^l Potter’s Archæolog. Græc. Vol. 2.
 Book 4. Chap. 8.

The *Grecian* soldiers, who died in war, had not only their tombs adorned with inscriptions shewing their names, parentage, and exploits, but were also honoured with an Oration in their praise. Particularly the custom among the *Athenians* in the interment of their soldiers was as follows ^m, viz. “ They used to place the “ bodies of their dead in tents three days before the funeral, that all persons might have “ opportunity to find out their relations, and “ pay their last respects to them ; Upon the “ fourth day, a coffin of cypress was sent from “ every tribe, to convey the bones of their “ own relations ; after which went a covered “ herse, in memory of those whose bodies “ could not be found. All these, accompanied “ with the whole body of the people, were “ carried to the publick burying place, call’d “ *Ceramicus*, and there interr’d. One Oration was spoken in commendation of them “ all, and their monuments adorned with “ pillars, inscriptions, and all other ornaments usual about the tombs of the most honourable persons. The Oration was pronounced by the fathers of the deceas’d persons, who had behaved themselves most valiantly. Thus after the famous battle at *Marathon*, the fathers of *Callimachus*, and *Cynegyrius*, were appointed to make the Funeral “ Oration ⁿ. And upon the return of the day,

^m Ibid. B. 3. ch. xi. p. 103, 105.
Argumento τῶν ἐπιταφίων λόγων.

ⁿ Polemo in

(10)
“ upon which the solemnity was first held, the
“ same Oration was constantly repeated every
“ ry year °.”

From the *Egyptians* and *Grecians*, especially from the latter, the *Romans* received many of their laws and customs, as well as much of their polytheism and idolatrous worship. It is well known that the custom of making Funeral Orations in praise of the dead obtain'd among them. The manner in which their funeral services were performed is as follows ^p : “ Upon the eighth day, *b. e.* after
“ the persons decease, a certain cryer, in manner of a bell-man, went about the town to
“ call the people to the solemnization of the
“ funeral, in this form of words ^q, *Exequias*
“ *L. Titio L. Filio quibus est commodum ire.*
“ *Iam tempus est, ollus ex ædibus effertur.*
“ After the people had assembled themselves
“ together, the bed being covered with purple, or other rich coverings, the last
“ clamation being ended, a trumpeter went before all the company, certain poor women,
“ called *Præficae*, following after, and singing
“ songs in the praise of the party deceased.
“ Those that carried this bed, were the next
“ of the kin, so that it fell often among the
“ senators themselves to bear the corps ; and
“ because the poorer sort were not able to undergo the charges of such solemnities, there-

° Cicero de Oratore.
Antholog. l. 2. sect. 2. c. 21.

^p Godwin's Rom. Hist.
^q Rosin. Antiq. l. 5.

“ upon

“ upon were they buried commonly in the dusk
 “ of the evening ; and hence a *vespertino tem-*
 “ *pore*, those that carried the corps, were
 “ termed *vespæ* or *vespillones*. In the burial
 “ of a senator, or chief officer, certain waxen
 “ images of all his predecessors were carried
 “ before him upon long poles or spears, toge-
 “ ther with all the ensigns of honour which he
 “ deserved in his life time. Moreover, if
 “ any servants had been manumized by him,
 “ they accompanied the mourners, lamenting
 “ for their master’s death. After the corps
 “ followed the dead man’s children, the next of
 “ the kin, and other of his friends, *atrati*, that
 “ is to say, in mourning apparel.—The corps
 “ being thus brought into their great Oratory,
 “ called the *Rostra*, the next of the kin *lau-*
 “ *dabat defunctum pro rostris*, *id est*, made a
 “ Funeral Oration in the commendations prin-
 “ cipally of the party deceased, but touching
 “ the worthy acts also of those his predeces-
 “ sors, whose images were there present.”

The account given by a later writer, is
 in these words : “ In all the funerals of note,
 “ says he, especially in the publick or *indictioe*,
 “ the corps was first brought, with a vast train
 “ of followers, into the *Forum* ; here one of the
 “ nearest relations ascended the *Rostra*, and
 “ obliged the audience with an Oration in
 “ praise of the deceased. If none of the kin-

* Sueton. Jul. Cæsar. c. 6. † Kennet’s Antiq. of
 Rome, Part 2. B. 5. ch. 10. p. 351.

"dred undertook the office, it was discharged
 "by some of the most eminent persons in the
 "city for learning and eloquence, as *Appian*
 "reports of the funeral of *Sylla* ¹. And *Pliny* ²
 "the younger, reckons it as the last addition
 "to the happiness of a very great man, that
 "he had the honour to be praised at his fune-
 "ral by the most eloquent *Tacitus*, then Con-
 "sul. Which is agreeable to *Quintilian's* ³
 "account of this matter, *Nam & funebres, &c.*
 "*For the Funeral Orations*, says he, *depend*
 "*very often on some publick office, and by or-*
 "*der of senate, are many times given in*
 "*charge to the magistrates, to be performed*
 "*by themselves in person.* The invention of
 "this custom is generally attributed to *Vale-*
 "*rius Poplicola*, soon after the expulsion of
 "the regal family. *Plutarch* tells us, that
 "honouring his colleague's obsequies with a *Fu-*
 "*neral Oration*, it so pleased the Romans,
 "that it became customary for the best men,
 "to celebrate the funerals of great persons
 "with speeches in their commendations."

Thus *Julius Caesar* ⁴, according to custom,
 made an Oration in the *Rostra*, in praise of
 his wife *Cornelia*, and his aunt *Julia*, when
 dead; wherein he shewed, that his aunt's de-
 scent, by her mother's side, was from Kings,
 and by her Father's, from the Gods. *Plu-*

¹ *Εμφυλ*, lib 1.
 lib. 3. c. 9.

² Lib. 2. Ep. 1.

³ Instit.

⁴ Suet. in *Jul. Caesar*, c. 6.

tarch says^a, that "He approved of the law
 " of the *Romans*, which ordered suitable
 " praises to be given to women as well as to
 " men, after death." Though by what he
 says in another place^a, it seems that the old
Roman law was, that Funeral Orations should
 be made only for the elder women; and
 therefore he says, that *Cæsar* was the first
 that made one upon his own wife, it not be-
 ing then usual to take notice of younger wo-
 men in that way: but by that action, he
 gained much favour from the populace,
 who afterwards looked upon him, and loved
 him as a very mild and good man. The
 reason why such a law was made in favour
 of the women, *Livy*^b tells us, was this;
 That when there was such a scarcity of money
 in the publick treasury, that the sum agreed
 upon to give the *Gauls*, to break up the siege
 of the city and *Capitol*, could not be raised,
 the women collected among themselves, and
 made it up; who hereupon, had not on-
 ly thanks given them, but this additional
 honour, that after death, they should be
 solemnly praised as well as the men:
 which looks as if before this time, only the
 men had those Funeral Orations made for
 them.

But to proceed: This custom of the *Romans*
 very early obtained among the Christians;

^a De mulier. virtut. in principio. ^a In vit. Cæsar. in
 principio. ^b Hist. ab U. C. l. 5. c. 50.

some of their Funeral Sermons or Orations are now extant, as that of *Eusebius* on *Constantine*, and those of *Nazianzen* on *Basil* and *Cæsarius*; and of *Ambrose* on *Valentinian*, *Theodosius*, and others. *Gregory*, the Brother of *Basil*, made, ἐπικηδειον λόγον, a Funeral Oration for *Melitus* Bishop of *Antioch*: in which Orations, they not only praised the dead, but addressed themselves to 'em, which seems to have introduced the custom of praying to departed saints. Now these Orations were usually made ^d before the bodies of the deceased were committed to the ground, which custom has been, more or less, continued ever since, to this day.

And now, Sir, having thus far proceeded in my enquiries on this subject, I cannot but conclude, that those rites and ceremonies among the Heathens, which have been thus deliver'd from one people to another, are what have given birth to Funeral Sermons and Orations among us Christians; and tho' the practice, no doubt, is considerably improved, and cleared of many things which would smell too rank of paganism, and is thrown into a method which, perhaps, may be of some service to Christianity, yet notwithstanding this new dress, its original may very easily be discerned. The method in which the characters of deceased persons are given in our Funeral Sermons, is

^c Socrat. Eccl. Hist. l. 5. c. 9. ^d Onuphrius de sepel. mort. c. 8.

very much the same with that observed in those pagan Orations, where first an account is given of the parentage of the deceased, then of his education ; after that, we hear of his conduct in riper years : then his many virtues are reckoned up, with his generous, noble, and excellent performances.

I would not be understood as tho' I condemn'd the practice because of its rise and original ; for why mayn't the customs of Heathens, if just and laudable in themselves, and no ways pernicious to Christianity in their consequences, be followed by us Christians ? And seeing we are come into this practice, there's one thing we should take care to follow them in, and that is, not to make those Sermons or Orations for every one ; but for those only whose characters are distinguishing, who have been eminently useful in the world, and in the church of Christ. The old Heathens only honoured those with this part of the funeral solemnity, who were men of probity and justice, or renown'd for their wisdom and knowledge, or famous for warlike exploits : This, as *Cicero* informs us, being part of the law for burials, which directs, that the praises only of honourable persons shall be mentioned in the Oration ^e. The *Jews* also make Funeral Orations ^f in praise of the par-

^e Honoratorum virorum laudes in concione memorantur, &c. De legibus, l. 2. prope finem. ^f Buxtorf. Jud. Synag. c. 49. Leo. Modena. *Hist. of the rites, customs, &c. of the present Jews*, Par. 5. c. 8. sect. 4.

ty deceased, provided he's a person of note, or a man of worth and value amongst them, such as the minister of the congregation, or the like. It would be much more agreeable, if our funeral discourses were not so common, and if the characters given of the deceased were more just; devoid of that fustian flattery, with which they too often abound. I would not be understood, as though I thought the deceased Lady, whose funeral sermons have occasion'd this Essay, was a person undeserving of having her memory perpetuated this way, or that what is there said of her is not just and true.

As for scripture history, I cannot, *Sir*, recollect any passage which gives countenance to our practice, unless that short oration of *David's*, at the grave of *Abner*, may be judg'd of this sort, 2 *Sam.* iii. 33, 34. *Josephus* seems to have this view of it, when he says, *David* buried him very magnificently, and composed funeral Lamentations for him.

And 'tis observable, that *Cocceius*, in his Funeral Oration on *Maccovius*, after he had remarked, that the Practice was agreeable, not only to the antient Custom of that University, before whom he delivered it; but also to the Customs of the *Athenians* and *Romans*, who judg'd it very ornamental and profitable to the Commonwealth, to praise those who had been famous in peace or war:

ἐπιτάφιος συγγεγραμμένος ἔστιν. *Antiq. lib. 7.*

he

he further directs his auditors to *David's Elegium* on *Saul* and *Jonathan*, in 2 *Sam.* i. 17, &c. and to the anniversary lamentation of the daughters of *Israel* for the daughter of *Jephthah*, in *Judges* xi. 40. in favour of this custom. But, with submission, I take it, that these instances will rather justify the use of funeral odes, than of funeral sermons and orations.

And now, *Sir*, If, I thought, I should not trespass too much upon your patience, I would briefly enquire into the rise and original of our funeral elegies and odes, which are likewise made to perpetuate the memory, and celebrate the praises of the dead. Who were the inventors of elegy is very uncertain, for *Horace* tells us it was controverted in his time, and left undetermined by the criticks^h. As to the original of the name, the *Grecians*ⁱ " had a custom of drawling out their words, and repeating the Interjection, *εἰ, εἰ, εἰ, εἰ*, with tears; and hence, if we may credit the *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes*^k, funeral lamentations were called *ελεγος*, *Elegies*.

With respect to singing at the interment of the dead, *Macrobius*^l says, " It is establish'd by the practice of most nations or countries, who do it upon this persuasion, that after the decease of the body, the soul returns to the original of the sweetness of music, *b. e.* to heaven": And 'tis no great difficulty to

^h De arte poetica.
Vol. 2. par. 4. ch. 5.

ⁱ Potter's Archeolog. Græc.
^k Avibus. ^l Somn. Scip. l. 2. c. 3.

collect some instances of this kind.

Potter says on this head, that the *Gracians*^m “ had mourners and musicians to encrease the solemnity: these *Homer* calls “ *ἐξάρχες θρήνων*, because they endeavoured “ to excite sorrow in all the company, by “ beating their breasts, and counterfeiting “ all the actions of the most real and passionate grief. They are likewise termed, “ *αἰδοῖ, περσῶδοι, &c.* from the songs they “ sung at funerals. Of these there seem to “ have been three, one in the procession, another at the funeral pile, a third at the “ grave.” The pipes or flutes they made use of at those solemnities were those of the *Carian, Mysian, Lydian, and Phrygian* original.

“ Those who were killed by Elephants, “ either in the hunting of them, or in Battle, “ *Ælian* informs usⁿ, were buried very honourably, and had certain hymns sung in “ their honour by the *Lybians*. The argument of these hymns was, That those were “ valiant men, who engaged with such a “ beast; and that the best funeral ornament was “ to die gloriously.

What was the custom of the antient *Romans* in the burial of their dead, is sufficiently notorious: It has been already observed, that at the funeral process, certain poor women, called *Præficae*, sung songs in the praise of the

^m *Potter's Antiq.* Vol. 2.

ⁿ *Var. Hist.* l. 12. c. 55.

party deceased ; these women were hired for this purpose, making a trade of it, and getting their livelihood by it. Besides these, there were also, *Siticines*, and *Tibicines*. “ The name “ *Siticines* °, *A. Gellius* ^p derives from *situs* “ and *cano*, from singing to the dead : They “ were of two sorts, some sounding on the “ trumpet, others on the flute or pipe. That “ the trumpets had a share in this solemnity, “ we learn from *Virgil*, in the funeral of “ *Pallas*, *Æn.* xi.

“ *Exoritur clamorque virum, clangorque tu-*
“ *barum.*

And from *Propertius*, *Lib. 2. Eleg. 7.*

“ *Ab! mea tum quales caneret tibi, Cyn-*
“ *tibia, somnos*
“ *Tibia, funesta tristior illa tuba.*

“ *Suetonius* ^a mentions the *Tibia*, in the “ funeral of *Julius Cæsar*, and *Seneca* in that “ of *Claudius* ^r; and *Ovid* says of himself in “ plain words,

“ *Interea nostri quid agant nisi triste libelli?*
“ *Tibia funeribus convenit ista meis*.”

Trist. 5. Eleg. 1.

Cicero ^r says, It was the custom, not only that the praises of deserving men should be men-

° Kennet's *Antiq. par.* 2. b. 5. p. 345. ^p *Lib. 20. c. 3.*
^a *C. 84.* ^r *Vid. Apocol.* ^r *De legibus l. 2. prope fin.*

tioned in the oration, but also " that *Tibicini*, or pipers should follow those commendations with songs, called *Nenia*; which is the name the *Grecians* give to mournful songs". These *Nenia* were the same with the *Nuge* of *Plautus*,

Hec sunt non nuga, non enim mortualia.

Both which may be understood of those songs which were sung in praise of the dead, at the time of their interment; for the word *Nuge* is an *Hebrew* word, 'tis used in *Zeph.* 3. 18. *I will gather* נגנ them that are sorrowful, which *Jerom* not understanding, imagined it was the latin word *Nuga*, and accordingly rendered it so; whereas it comes from נגנ which signifies to be sorrowful, and here intends sorrowful persons; and in *Plautus*, mournful songs. Now because a great many weak and foolish things were said in those songs, as there are in many of our elegies, and funeral odes; the words *Nuga* and *Nenia* are frequently used for silly and trifling things.

So likewise among the *Gracians*, " *Funeral dirges* were called τέλεμοι, whence τηλεμύζειν is expounded in *Hesychius* by θρηνεῖν, to mourn; and τηλεμύσεις is another name for mourning women; hence also τα τελεμύδια signifies empty and worthless things, and

† *Afinaria*,

† *Potter's Antiq.*

“ τα-

“ *παλιν λυεσθεις* is proverbially apply'd
 “ to insipid and senseless compositions.

“ Much the same custom obtained among the
Jews, which 'tis highly probable, they recei-
 ved from some of the neighbouring nations,
 for they were a people always fond of fol-
 lowing the ceremonious practices of the Hea-
 thens; they had their *מקנות*, or *mourning*
women, which were the same with the *Præfica*
 of the *Romans*, and the *τηλεμύσαι* of the
Grecians, just now mentioned, who by their
 dishevell'd hair, naked breasts, and mourn-
 ful voice, moved upon the affections, and pro-
 duced tears from others, as well as set forth the
 praises of the dead in their songs or funeral
 odes, being hired by the relations of the de-
 ceased for these purposes. *Maimonides* * says,
 That the heirs of the deceased were obliged
 to give them a reward. The manner in which
 they perform'd their doleful ditties was this,
 * First one spoke, and then all the rest an-
 swered. Of these mourning women, and
 what they were to do, we read in *Jer.* ix. 17,
 18, 19, 21, 22. where the Lord by the pro-
 phet, not as approving, but deriding the
 practice, says, *Consider ye, and call for the*
mourning women, that they may come, &c.

Besides these mourning women, they also
 made use of minstrels and pipes, of these we
 read in *Matt.* ix. 23. Pipes and such like

* Hilchot Ebel. c. 12. f. 1. * Moed Katon, c. 3.
 9. R. David Kimchi lib. Shorash. rad. נפ.

instruments of musick, were used by them at their ^x funerals, as well as at their marriages; and according to their *Rabbins* ^y, even the poorest man in *Israel*, when his wife died, never had less than two pipes, and one mourning woman.

The Christians indeed, instead of these pagan and jewish customs, have substituted the practice of singing of psalms before the corps, at the burial of the dead; a practice which prevailed very early, and has been approv'd of and established by Emperors ^z, Popes, Fathers, and Councils, and is continued, in many places, to this day; and I can't but be of opinion, that these last rites and ceremonies among the Heathens, have given birth to our elegiac Verses, and Odes sacred to the memory of the dead. Whether *David's Elogium* on *Saul* and *Jonathan*, and the anniversary celebration of the case of *Jephthah's* daughter by the daughters of *Israel* beforemention'd, together with the lamentations of *Jeremiah*, and those of the singing men and singing women on the death of *Josiah*, give any countenance to these kind of performances, I shall not determine.

But leaving these enquiries, I shall now, Sir, present you with my thoughts on those two Funeral Discourses, which have been the

^x Bava Metzia. c. 6. sect. 1. Shabbat. c. 23. sect. 4.

^y Cerubot. c. 4. sect. 4.

^z Vid. Roma subterranea, Tom. 1. l. 1. c. 19.

occasion of this essay. I shall begin with Mr. *Harrison's* sermon, not only because it was first preached and published to the world, but because another discourse, prepared on the same subject, and for the same purpose, was obliged to give way to it; on which account, one might reasonably have expected, that this would have been a very valuable and excellent performance, if not an extraordinary one; that it would have been fill'd with solid divinity, judicious thoughts, strong reasoning, and good learning; when, on the contrary, I am bold to say, there's neither law nor gospel, good learning, nor good sense in it; nothing but rant and a meer jingle of words: There appears no more divinity in the sermon, than there does humanity in his conduct; 'tis an empty, jejune, trifling work. "The Apostle *Paul*, he says ^a, had a fine imagination, as well as a solid judgment." Indeed he had, and, I suppose, he means, that they both appear particularly in the ^b text, the subject of this discourse; and so they do, but it will be exceeding difficult to observe any thing like either throughout the whole discourse upon it. One would have thought, that a man insisting on so fruitful a text, could not have failed of expressing himself as fully and largely, both on the nature of the grace and doctrine of faith, had he understood either, as the bounds of a single discourse would admit of.

^a Sermon, p. 8.

^b Which is 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8.

But

But here's no notice taken, either of the Apostle's faith, or any others, but a studious concern appears, throughout the whole, even to avoid those descriptions of the people of God, which are taken from their faith : instead of which, we have *the sincerely good, the sincere followers of the lamb, sincere professors, the good man, the virtuous man, &c.* But I had almost forgot that this sermon was calculated for the polite part of the town, to whom those sounds, *believers, converted persons, regenerate ones, &c.* are as disagreeable, as the characters expressed by 'em are unsuitable. He tells us^c, that by *the faith*, which the Apostle says he had kept, " 'tis natural, in this place, " to understand the doctrine of the Gospel." It would have been well if he had thought fit to have given us some account of it, and not to have run out in those wild excursions another way, which are foreign from his text, and the doctrine of the gospel ; for he is not contented silently to pass over the great doctrines of faith, but throws out his indigested crudities to the shame and reproach of 'em, nay in direct opposition to them, some instances of which I'll just observe to you. I'll give you his entire paragraphs, that I may not in the least injure him, or curtail his sense.

And the first faulty paragraph I shall take notice of, we have p. 17. which is as follows, " Though the Apostle had described his own

^c Sermon, p. 11.

“conduct, which had something peculiar to
 “his publick station, though he had been
 “viewing *a crown, the lustre of which was*
 “*to bear a proportion to his attainments and*
 “*labours*; yet he intimated, that in some
 “things, there was an agreement between
 “his case, and that of christians in general,
 “both as to service and reward.” In what is
 here said, I am very much mistaken, if he has
 not obscur’d the lustre of the grace of God,
 the righteousness of Christ, the purchase of the
 Redeemer’s blood, and the crown of life it
 self, as well as put too great a lustre upon
 the attainments and labours of a creature; for
 what proportion can there be between the
 crown of life, and the best performances of
 men? There is a proportion between sin and
 death, but none between eternal life and
 works of righteousness which we have done:
*The wages, the just wages of sin is death^a,
 but eternal life is the gift of God, through
 Jesus Christ our Lord.* The whole of our
 salvation, from first to last, is wholly owing
 to the grace of God, exclusive of, and in con-
 tradistinction from any sort of works what-
 ever, performed by mortals. The choice of
 persons to this crown, is an instance of special
 and distinguishing grace, for which reason ’tis
 called an *election of grace*; upon the men-
 tioning of which, the Apostle argues after this
 nervous manner^c, *if it be of grace, then is it*

Rom. vi. 23.

^c Rom. xi. 5, 6.

no more of works, otherwise grace is no more grace; but if it be of works, then is it no more of grace, otherwise work is no more work.

And in another place: *we are justified freely by his grace^f, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus.* The pardon of our sins^g is according to the riches of his grace, so is our regeneration, and final perseverance; and the finishing of the whole work of salvation, will be attended with the shouts of Angels and Saints^h, *crying, grace, grace unto it: for 'tisⁱ not by works of righteousness which we have done; but according to his mercy, he hath saved us by the washing of regeneration, and the renewing of the holy Ghost.* The grace of God is a bright and sparkling jewel in this crown of righteousness, the glory of which will appear in it to all eternity, with an amazing and soul-ravishing lustre; and therefore to say, that the lustre of this crown is to bear a proportion to the attainments and labours of men, without taking any notice of the grace of God, which shines so resplendently in it, is to obscure the lustre of this grace.

Again, the lustre of this crown, is to bear a proportion to the righteousness of Christ, from whence it takes its name. *'Tis this which gives a person an undoubted right and title to it^k, being justified by his grace, we are made heirs according to the hope of eternal life.* Without this there will be no ad-

^f Rom. iii. 24.

^g Eph. i. 7.

^h Zech. iv. 7.

ⁱ Tit. iii. 5.

^k Tit. iii. 7.

mission into God's kingdom and glory, let a man's labours and attainments be what they will, for if he's destitute of this he's an unrighteous person, and *the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God*^l. Those who are found without this *wedding garment*, though they may have ^m *prophefied in Christ's name, and in his name have cast out devils, and done many wonderful works*; yet the judge will say to them, *I never knew you, depart from me ye that work iniquity*; and will give orders ⁿ *to bind them hand and foot, and cast them into outer darkness, where will be weeping and gnashing of teeth*; wherefore, to say, that the lustre of the crown of righteousness is to bear a proportion to the attainments and labours of a creature, without taking any manner of notice of the righteousness of Christ, which is our only title to this crown, between both which, there is the most just and adequate proportion, is to obscure the lustre of this righteousness.

Again, the lustre of this crown is to bear a proportion to the purchase of Christ's blood, and not to the attainments and labours of men; for if *righteousness*^a, life and happiness, *come by the law*, and men's obedience to it, *then Christ is dead in vain*. Mr. Richardson, in his ^b sermon, has well observed, that one re-

^l 1 Cor. vi. 9. ^m Matt. vii. 22, 23. ⁿ Matt. xxii. 11, 12, 13. ^a Gal. ii. 21. ^b Page 13. N. B. This is the sermon which was obliged to give way to Mr. Harrison's ingenious one.

son why this crown is called a crown of righteousness is, " because Christ has purchased it ;
 " and thus God, as a just and righteous God,
 " confers it. There's no degree of happiness,
 " adds he, to be enjoyed in a future world, but
 " what Christ has paid a valuable price for,
 " therefore heaven is called *c*, *The purchased*
 " *possession.*" Now between this valuable
 price of Christ's blood, and the lustre of the
 crown of righteousness, there's a just propor-
 tion ; but none between that, and the attain-
 ments and labours of men ; to say then, that
 the lustre of this crown is to bear a proporti-
 on to these, without taking any notice of the
 purchase of Christ's blood, is to obscure the
 lustre and glory of it. Besides, such a way of
 speaking must obscure the lustre of the crown
 it self ; for what lustre can there be in that
 crown which only bears a proportion to the
 attainments and labours of men, when their
 best *^d righteousness is as filthy rags*, and they
 themselves are *as an unclean thing* ? But to
 say, that it bears a proportion to the riches of
 God's grace, to the royal robe of Christ's righ-
 teousness, to the invaluable purchase of his
 Blood, is to spread, to increase, and set off in
 the best manner, the lustre of this crown.

Moreover, such an expression as this, puts too
 great a lustre upon the attainments and labours
 of a creature, tho' those attainments and la-
 bours may be never so great and considerable :

^c Eph. i. 14.

^d Isa. lxiv. 6.

indeed, the apostle *Paul's* were of this kind; yet I'm satisfy'd, he never entertained such an opinion of them as to imagine, that the lustre of the crown of righteousness he was viewing, was to be proportioned to them. When he compared himself with the other apostles of Christ, he says ^e, *I am the least of the apostles, that am not meet to be called an apostle, because I persecuted the church of God, but by the grace of God I am what I am, and his grace which was bestowed upon me, was not in vain; but I laboured more abundantly than they all*: yet observe how he corrects himself; yet not *I*, but *the grace of God which was with me*. And when he was obliged to make mention of his own attainments and labours, in the vindication of himself, against the insults and reproaches of false apostles; yet how often does he call himself a Fool ^f for it, and his just defence a *speaking foolishly in this confidence of boasting*? He was very well apprized, that tho' he *knew nothing* by himself ^g, yet he was not *thereby justified*; that his right and title to the crown of life did not lie in those things. He accounted that all his attainments and labours, whether before or after conversion, were but *loss and dung*^h, for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus his Lord. And indeed, there's no more proportion between our best performances and eternal Life,

^e 1 Cor. xv. 9, 10.^f 2 Cor. xi. 16, 17, 21, 23.^g 1 Cor. iv. 4.^h Phil. 3. 8.

than

than there is between a *crown* and a *dung-hill*: Yea, he reckoned, that his *sufferings*ⁱ for Christ, which were the greatest as well as the purest part of his service for him, were *not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed*: So little reason had Mr. Harrison, from the apostle's mouth to conclude, that *he had been viewing a crown, the lustre of which was to bear a proportion to his attainments and labours*. But no more of this.

I go on to consider another faulty paragraph of his, which you'll find in p. 20. it runs thus, "Should it not then raise our wonder, to the highest pitch, that *he will recompense us for these short services, which are very imperfect, with an incorruptible crown*? That he will send his only begotten Son from his throne in heaven, to meet us, and conduct us to everlasting mansions? well might St. John say *God is love*". The same *spirit of error* appears in this as in the former paragraph; but if any thing, it appears here more barefac'd: He acknowledges that our services are *short*, and *very imperfect*; and yet says, that God will *recompense us for them*, and that *with an incorruptible crown*. Alas, what profit and advantage can our short and imperfect services be to God, that he should recompense us for them after this manner! ¹ *Who hath first given to him, and it shall*

ⁱ Rom. viii. 18.

^k 1 John iv. 8.

¹ Rom. xi. 34.

be recompensed unto him again? ^m *Verily, there is a reward for the righteous; but not for his own righteousness sake, but for the righteousness of Christ imputed to him, which only can truly and properly denominate him a righteous man.* ⁿ *In keeping of the commandments of God, there is great reward even in this world, but not for keeping of them; much less in that which is to come. God indeed does reward his own grace which he has bestowed upon his people, and therefore faith, hope, confidence, &c.* ^o *have a great recompense of reward even now, and will be found unto praise^p and honour and glory at the appearing of Christ; but God never rewards his people for their services, tho' he rewards 'em in his service; for when they have done all they can, they have done but their duty, and must acknowledge themselves^q unprofitable servants. Heaven is indeed called^r the reward of the inheritance, and^s the recompense of the reward; but as the Apostle Paul says, the reward is not reckoned of debt, but of grace.*

Give me leave, Sir, to transcribe one paragraph more, which is in p. 21. “ Let me
 “ therefore, says he, recommend this to you
 “ with the greatest earnestness, *that you would*
 “ *now secure the favour of your judge: if*

^m Psal. lviii. 11.

ⁿ Psal. xix. 11.

^o Heb. x.

35. ^p 1 Pet. i. 6.

^q Luke xvii. 10.

^r Col. iii.

24. ^s Heb. xi. 26.

^t Rom. iv. 4.

“ you

“ you think seriously on the subject, you
 “ will confess, that it deserves your best re-
 “ gards, whatever the language of your
 “ practice has been.” If by *the favour of*
the judge, he means the love of Jesus Christ
 to sinners, that is not to be *secured now*; nor
 does it need any security from creatures.
 Christ fixed his love upon his people before the
 world began : *When there was no depth, no*
fountains abounding with water, while as yet
God had not made the earth, nor the fields,
nor the highest part of the dust of the world,
 Christ was *rejoicing in the habitable parts of*
his earth, and his *delights were with the sons*
of men ; and these have continued with them
 ever since ; for *having* ^{*} *loved his own which*
were in the world, he loved them to the end.
 There's no danger of losing his love and fa-
 vour where it is once fix'd, for 'tis like him-
 self, *the same yesterday, to day, and for ever* ^{*}.
 There can be no alteration made in it, nor
 any separation from it, for *who* ^y or what
shall separate from the love of Christ ? But if
 by securing it, he means getting an evidence,
 a manifestation, a knowledge of interest in his
 love, why must the spirit of God be neg-
 lected as useless ? and why is the creature set
 to work for it alone, without any hint of gra-
 cious assistance from him, especially when
 it is his peculiar work ^{*} to *take of the things*

^u Prov. viii. 24, 26---31.
 xiii. 8. ^y Rom. viii. 35.

^w John xiii. 1.
^z John xvi. 15.

^x Heb.

of Christ, and *shew* them to us; the love of Christ^a; and *shed* it abroad in us; and so^b to *direct* our hearts into it, that^c we may be able to comprehend with all saints what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height, and to know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge. Again, if by the favour of the judge, he means the favourable regards of Christ, consider'd in that character to criminals, and that those favourable regards are to be secured by their application to him, 'tis a vile reflection on him, as the judge of the whole earth, who always will do right; whose judgment is, and ever will be, according to truth, not to be govern'd by favour and affection to any. He is of quick understanding^d in the fear of the Lord, he will not judge after the sight of his eyes, neither reprove after the hearing of his ears, but with righteousness will he judge the poor, and reprove with equity, for the meek of the earth. He is not to be bribed with any of the gifts, presents, or services, that any of his creatures are capable of bringing him; his favour is not to be secured by any method of theirs^e: Will he esteem their riches? No, not gold, nor all the forces of strength. Could they give him thousands of rams, or ten thousands of rivers of oil, these would not ingratiate 'em into his favour: all their repentings, cries and tears, can

^a Rom. v. 5. ^b 2 Thess. iii. 5. ^c Eph. iii. 18,
19. ^d Is. xi. 3, 4. ^e Job xxxvi. 19.

never work upon his affections; nor can all their services and performances recommend 'em to his regard : Nothing short of a perfect righteousness, answerable to the righteous law by which all shall be judged, will be taken notice of by him. If he of his own grace and favour, as a *Saviour*, does not secure them by cloathing 'em with his own righteousness; they can never secure his favour, as a *judge*, by any thing they can do. The saints themselves will be admitted into heaven, not by *the favour of the Judge*, but by the *righteousness of the Redeemer*; their acquittance before men and angels, will not be an *act of favour* but of *righteousness*. The same degree of strict justice will appear in the awful procedure with them, as with others; *for we must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad*: and at this bar, their only security will be the righteousness of the Son of God, which will be sufficient, according to the strict rules of justice, to *answer for* them. If therefore Mr. *Harrison* has any regard to the salvation of the souls of men to whom he preaches, he ought to direct them, not to seek the favour of the judge, but the grace and righteousness of the Redeemer.

I shall not, Sir, trouble you any longer with remarks of this kind. I can't but observe, that this is the usual strain of Funeral Sermons publish'd to the world; for which reason I cannot have the greatest opinion of them. I must confess there are some exceptions from this observation, and I take Mr. *Richardson's* sermon to be one, which was preached upon the same subject, and for the same purpose as this. There are many things in it, which I perswade my self will be grateful and pleasing to you. I'll just give you some few hints, which shew his regard to the doctrines of the Gospel.

In p. 18. he gives a plain intimation of his faith in the doctrine of election; a doctrine that has always been a burthensome stone, an immoveable rock to all its adversaries, where speaking of the glories of heaven, he has these words, "There, says he, the whole
" ELECT of *Jesus*, who have lived in the
" different ages, and dwelt in the several
" corners of the world, shall make one glorious body, one triumphant assembly."

In p. 14. he expresses himself on the head of Christ's suretyship engagements, and undertakings for his people, and his compleat performance of them, after this manner: "As
" the Redeemer failed not in any part of his *undertakings* for his people, agreeable to his
" own *engagements*, so the Father has obliged
" himself to bestow all the glory and felicity
" upon *his seed*, which he has purchased for

“them.” Which is a brief summary of the covenant of grace.

Again, *p.* 12. speaking of the righteousness of Christ, he has exprest his sentiments very judiciously, “When, says he, the Christian hath made the greatest advances in holiness, he cannot but reflect upon the whole of his conduct with shame and blushing : ’tis in the righteousness of the Redeemer only, we can appear spotless at the throne of God ; this is the Christian’s sole dependance, this his joy, this his comfort, under a view of his own imperfections, even this, that he has a righteousness to trust to, and depend upon, which is equal to all that the law has demanded.” This one single paragraph, I’ll venture to say, is worth Mr. *Harrison’s* whole sermon.

In *p.* 22. he ascribes the work of grace in its implantation and exercise, to the Spirit of God, and asserts the absolute necessity of it, to the performance of good works with acceptance ; where, speaking of the meetness or fitness of saints for Christ’s appearance, he says : “This, divines call either habitual or actual ; by the former, they understand those graces that accompany salvation, and are implanted in the soul by the holy Spirit, whereby they are *turned from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God.* And by the latter, a lively exercise of those graces implanted by the Spirit ; for grace in the
“soul

" soul is an active principle, and the best teacher
 " of good works, without which indeed,
 " none can be performed acceptable unto
 " God." And in *p. 11.* he says, that God
 " carries on *this work*, notwithstanding all
 " difficulties and oppositions, with victorious
 " efficacy." He asserts, in *p. 10.* the neces-
 " sity of " receiving strength from Christ for
 " performing the several parts of evangelical
 " obedience." And in *p. 9.* gives his thoughts
 of the final perseverance of the saints, in
 these words: " Many snares are laid in the
 " Christian's way to hinder his progress to-
 " wards heaven ; yet is he enabled to walk
 " agreeable to the rules which Christ has pre-
 " scribed, without being led away with the
 " error of the wicked, or falling from his
 " own steadfastness."

These, Sir, I presume, are the reasons why
 this discourse was slighted and discourag'd, and
 design'd to be stifled in the *Embryo*, never to
 have seen the light ; the above doctrines not
 being agreeable to the *taste* of the polite part of
 the town ; But sure I am, they are so to every
 one that has *tasted that the Lord is gracious* :
 And I am very glad to observe, that they were
 to the Lady deceased. I think that part of her
 character, which Mr. *Richardson* has given,
 adds a glory to the whole of it, when he tells
 us : " Her hopes of everlasting life, as she de-
 " clared to him, were entirely placed on Christ

"and his righteousness, using these words,
 "there we are safe."

But, Sir, before I conclude, I must beg leave to return again to Mr. *Harrison*. He has been pleas'd to favour us with the *Oration* which he deliver'd at the grave. I shall not trouble you with remarking his unguarded sentences, his low thoughts, and mean compliance to a certain set of men, which are too visible in it : I only think, 'tis pity he had not published his own prayer, and the Lord's-Prayer, with the benediction at the end of it, which it seems were also delivered at the time of interment, and then we should have had a compleat form of service for the burial of the dead. He observes to us, that "the service frequently performed amongst the dissenters at the burial of the dead," is in this form, whereas there are but very few dissenters in the nation that use any service at all, at the burial of their dead, but in this city of *London* ; where the greatest part also make no Orations at such times, and some of those that do, make no prayer at all, and still fewer use the Lord's-Prayer : But perhaps, our Orator, is in expectation of making this practice, in time, more common by his example.

He has also published an Ode, sacred to the memory of the deceased Lady : I confess, Sir, I have but little judgment in poetry, yet I'm ready to conclude, 'tis the best of these his performances.

In

In the dedication of his sermon to the worthy Gentleman, and Lady, there addressed, he appeals to their senses, that it was *composed* at their request, tho' in order to be *preached* by another; and therefore it is very cautiously expressed: *a request*, says he, *which was contrary to my expectation*, and, indeed, an unheard of one, and which a man of any honour, would never have complied with; tho' he has the vanity to add, "*but founded on reasons which both to you and to me, fine language! appear to be capable of the fullest vindication.*" And pray now, What were these reasons? Why, suspicions of Mr. Richardson's ability to compose, preach, and publish a sermon, which might be acceptable. What little reason there was for those suspicions, the world is now capable of judging, seeing the discourse is made publick; and you, Sir, may easily conclude, from the few hints I have extracted out of it. Mr. Harrison tells them, *a very small time was allotted him for finishing the discourse*; time enough, unless it had been better performed. He goes on with compliments upon *Sir* and *Madam*, and concludes with praying for them, that they might long enjoy together the blessings of an indulgent providence, that they might be *eminently useful, and extensively happy*; which, by the help of transposition, would make a beautiful sentence; and that *at last*, they might receive a *distinguishing crown*: but whether he means one dif-

different from that in the text, I cannot say. I subjoin to this, that I apprehend it would not have been amiss, if he had had the ingenuity to have acknowledged, that the character which he gave in his sermon of the deceased Lady, was drawn up by this Gentleman to whom the dedication is made; whereas, he has published it to the world as his own, without giving the least hint of it.

And now, Sir, I shall detain you no longer; excuse the freedom I have taken with you. If the reading these lines gives you any satisfaction, or the publishing of 'em may be a means to reform this vain man, I shall heartily rejoice: Only I desire you would observe, that Mr. *Richardson* is entirely ignorant of the contents of this Letter, that he knows nothing of my writing to you on this subject, nor of my design to do so; nor has he in the least instigated me to it.

I am, Sir,

Your very much obliged, &c.

